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31 October 1979

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 15/79)

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USSR REPORT  
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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET-INDIAN SYMPOSIUM ON RELIGION HELD IN TASHKENT

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No 4, 1979 signed to press 25 Jul 79 pp 164-169

[Article by V.N. Basilov and S.M. Mirkhasilov: "Problems of Secularization in Societies with Many Religions"]

[Text] From 27 to 30 November a Soviet-Indian symposium entitled "Problems of Secularization in Societies with Many Religions: The Experience of the USSR and India" was held in Tashkent.

The symposium was organized on the Soviet side by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and on the Indian side by the Indian Council for Research in the Field of Social Sciences. The symposium was held under the general guidance of Vice President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Academician M.K. Nurmykhamedov. The chief work relating to the preparation of the symposium was assumed by the Institute of History of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences headed by M.A. Akhunova.

The international symposium, which was devoted to an examination of the process of liberation of social life from the influence of religion, was conducted in the Soviet Union for the first time. The theme of the symposium is not merely of cognitive interest. In many countries of the world, religion still continues to be a significant force, exerting an influence on social, cultural and even political life. It interferes with the achievement of progressive changes in developing countries because it supports norms and customs that came into being over the course of many centuries but which are now in contradiction to present-day requirements of society. Consequently the task to restrict and to weaken the role of religion is today an acute one for many countries, particularly India, where religion has still not lost its former influence on the life of the population.

The Soviet delegation (leader--V.N. Basilov) numbered 40 persons.

They included both speakers presenting reports (I.A. Kryvelev, S.A. Tokarev A.F. Okulov, P.K. Kurochkin, V.F. Milividov, G.M. Kerimov, A.I. Klibanov,

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L.A. Tul'tseva, E.G. Filimonov, A.V. Nurullayev, and V.N. Basilov--from Moscow; S.M. Mirkhasilov--from Tashkent; K.K. Kubakov--Samarkand) and also specialists who expected to take part in the discussions. For the purpose of presenting in the course of discussion a detailed elucidation of the state of religion in different regions of our country, additional scholars were invited to take part in the symposium--from Moscow (N.R. Guseva, Yu.I. Semenov), Vil'nyus (Ya.V. Minkyavichyus), Ulan-Ude (K.M. Gerasimova, R.Ye. Pubayev), Cheboksary (P.V. Denisov, G.Ye. Kudryashov), Ufa (N.M. Baltina, M.M. Sagitov), Baku (A.F. Akhadov, G.A. Guliyev), Dushanbe (M. Khamidzhanova, O. Murodov), Frunze (T.D. Bayaliyeva), Tbilisi (S.B. Serebryakov), Nal'chik (M.G. Kumakhov), Syktyvkar (Yu.V. Gagarin). Of the scholars from Uzbekistan taking part in the work of the symposium, there were in addition to the persons presenting reports associates from the Uzbek SSR of the Academy of Sciences R.A. Ubaydullayeva, Kh. Ismailov and O.P. Umurzakova.

A broad range of problems was examined in the 14 reports proposed for discussion at the symposium by Soviet scientists. The reports of I.A. Kryvelev "Religion as a Socialist Phenomenon and S.A. Tokarev "Religion and Religions from the Historical-Ethnographic Point of View" outlined the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of religion as a form of social consciousness. I.A. Kryvelev cast light on the following questions: (1) correlation of the individual and the social content of religious ideology; (2) influence of religion on the course of social development; (3) the church as a social institute based on religious ideology; (4) the social role of religion at the present stage. S.A. Tokarev devoted special attention to the dual role of religion in the life of human society--as a factor of integration and at the same time of segregation; the speaker considered the study of these functions the chief task of a historian of religion.

A.F. Okulov in a report "The USSR Constitution and Problems of Freedom of Conscience" examined legal aspects of the position of religion in the USSR and elucidated the principal position of the Soviet state in regard to religion. P.K. Kurochkin devoted his report "The Constructive Role of the Scientific-Materialist Atheistic Philosophy in the Process of Formation of the New Man" to questions of the positive content of atheism.

The historical prerequisites of contemporary processes taking place in the sphere of religious consciousness were analyzed in reports by V.F. Milovidov "Orthodoxy in Tsarist Russia" and V.N. Basilov and G.M. Kerimov "Islam in Tsarist Russia." The speakers showed that the role of religion in our time is largely determined by the special features of the position of religion in the country in the prerevolutionary period. A.I. Klibanov in the report "Russian Popular Free Thinking (13th-19th Centuries)" substantiated the thesis that the different types of contemporary believers reproduce different stages of departure from religion traversed by popular thought in the past.

The main part of the reports of the Soviet scholars was devoted to a characterization of the process of departure of our country's population from religion in the years of Soviet power. This process was shown with materials of

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Orthodoxy by L.A. Tul'tsev ("Orthodoxy in the USSR") and with data on Protestant religious trends--E.G. Filimonov ("The Evolution of Protestant Confessions in the USSR"). The authors examined the changes in the views of the followers of different dogmas and the process of modernization of beliefs and rites against the background of broad economic, social and cultural changes that have created the necessary conditions for the erosion of the religious consciousness and the spread of atheism.

Problems related to contemporary Islam were presented in reports in particular detail and fully. In the reports of G.M. Kerimov "Islam in the USSR (1917-1945)" and A.V. Nurullayev "Islam in the USSR (1946-1977)" there were described the main stages of the evolution of Mohammedanism in our country and also the changes that have taken place up to the present time in official dogma and the cult. S.M. Mirkhasilov in the report "On a Characterization of Elimination of Religious Traditions in the Mode of Life of the Uzbek Population" on the basis of a big body of ethnographic and ethnosociological material gave an all-round picture of manifestations of Islam in the consciousness and behavior of different age groups of believers. V.N. Basilov and K.K. Kubakov in the report "Vestiges of Pre-Moslem Beliefs in Islam" showed the process of dying off of beliefs and rituals originally accepted by Islam from the local religions that had been ousted.

The report of N.P. Dobacheva "Forming of New Nonreligious Rites--One of the Manifestations of Secularization of Social Consciousness," in which the process of creating new rituals was illumined on the basis of materials of the peoples of Central Asia, abutted on these problems. The special attention given to Islam in the reports of the Soviet delegation was due to the fact that the symposium was being held in Uzbekistan, in a region of traditional prevalence of Islam; here the information contained in the reports on the process of the dying off of Islam could be combined by the Indian scholars with their own observations.

The Indian delegation consisted of seven persons: /Sh.Ch. Dube/\*--leader (Jammu), M. /Miri/ (Shillong), Pritam Singh (Amritsar), R. /Kumar/ (Allahabad), S.T. Lokhandvalla (Simla), S. Chandra (Aligarh), R. /Naydu/ (Hyderabad), who presented eight reports. The report by /Sh.Ch. Dube/ "Harmonizing Factors in Processes of Development and Spread of Hinduism" emphasized the flexibility of this religion and its ability to absorb and retain within itself cults that are alien in origin. M. /Miri/ in the report "Plurality of Religion, Science and Secularism" raised a number of general theoretical questions related to the manifestation of secularization. Pritam Singh's report "Problems of Secularization in Multireligious Societies: The Experience of Sikhism" dwelt in detail on the contemporary position of Sikhism in India. R. /Kumar/ in his report "Secularism in Multireligious Societies on the Example of India" devoted much attention to social-economic processes lying at the basis of different movements in the religious sphere. S.T. Lokhandvalla in the report

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\* Names in slantlines are direct transliterations from the Russian.

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"Secularism and Islam" made a substantive survey of the history of Islam. S. Chandra in his report "On the Question of Secularization: Nationalism in India in the 19th Century" showed the close tie between secularization and the process of formation of the movement for the country's independence. In the report by R. Naydu/ "Disturbance of Secular Situations," there are examined forms of deviations from "true secularization," which is discussed as absolute reciprocal noninterference of the state and religion. T.N. Madan (Delhi), who was unable to be present at the symposium, sent a report "Comments on the Historical Significance of Secularism in India," dealing with the prerequisites and early stages of the contemporary process of secularization in the country.

In the course of the discussion of the reports, an interesting and sharp argument developed, disclosing the different points of view of the Soviet and Indian scholars on a number of happenings and a different approach to the study of religions. The arguments primarily concerned theoretical problems and a question closely related to them on conceptual apparatus and terminology.

Thus, the Indian delegates did not consider as exhaustive the definition of religion widely accepted among Soviet scholars according to which a basic characteristic separating religion from other ideological manifestations is that of faith in the supernatural (such an understanding of religion was proposed in particular in I.A. Kryvelev's report). S. Chandra found this definition too narrow: in his opinion, it is possible to have the existence of "secular" religions. Under this term he included ideology accepted on faith and possessing the properties of dogma. "In this sense, even atheism can be called a religion if it is transformed into dogma of orthodox character," he said. /Sh.Ch. Dube/ supported S. Chandra. Religion in his words provides a system of beliefs which explains the attitude of man to different components of the world, helps establish the purpose of actions of the individual and society and sets definite limits to freedom of action for an individual. A system with the same functions, but without faith and a god, becomes a "secular" religion.

R. /Kumar/ expressed doubt that Buddhism corresponds to the definition of religion as belief in the supernatural. He declared repeatedly that the definition of religion proposed by the Soviet side fails to take into account the specific character of Hinduism. R. /Kumar/ himself, like the other Indian delegates, did not consider it possible for himself to give another definition, but he emphasized that the understanding of the term "religion" adopted by the Soviet scholars applied to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the opinion of /Sh.Ch. Dube/ "belief in the supernatural was unessential" to Hinduism: a whole series of religious sects advanced the doctrine of materialism but still "were not considered as standing outside the bounds of Hindu civilization." Subsequently he said that "dharma" (a very close equivalent to the concept of "religion" in the terminology of Hinduism) "unites also in itself phenomena of a worldly order--economics, bodily pleasures and art."

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The Indian scholars also did not agree to S.A. Tokarev's classification of Hinduism under national rather than world religions. Among the Soviet participants S.A. Tokarev's opinion was supported by Yu.I. Semenov; N.R. Guseva expressed the thought that bases did exist for considering Hinduism as a world religion.

The Indian scholars interpreted differently from the Soviet specialists the social nature of religion. This came to light in a discussion of S.A. Tokarev's report in which the author advanced the position that religion "is not so much the relation of man to God (or to gods) as the relation of people to each other--in regard to ideas about God (or about gods)." R. /Kumar/ said that according to his understanding S.A. Tokarev touched upon two aspects of religion: as the inner world of the individual and his relation to God (or to gods) and as social phenomenon ("sociology of religion"). S. Chandra asserted that S.A. Tokarev "underestimates religion as a phenomenon of a personal character and overestimates it as a social reality." Thus while standing on one position, S. Chandra and R. /Kumar/ consider relation to God as a phenomenon of individual psychology, not agreeing with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of religion as a social phenomenon in which the special features of an individual attitude toward God are socially mediated.

M. /Miri/ agreed with the formulation "religion is a social phenomenon," albeit on the basis of different understanding. In his opinion, phenomena called in I.A. Kryvelev's report religious should be interpreted with account being taken of language factors. "Language determines the limits of human knowledge and the limits of its conceptual systems and therefore significantly determines and limits man." Once language is considered as a social phenomenon, so is the nature of religion in his opinion. "I am not convinced," M. /Miri/ said subsequently, "that a scientifically valid theory of the origin of religion is possible. It seems to me that so-called evolutionary anthropology, from which Professor Kryvelev borrows certain positions, permits an error of principle in assuming that a well-reasoned theory of the origin of religion is possible. Such a theory, M. /Miri/ believes "would be unable to explain in sufficient detail the specificity of religious symbols."

M. /Miri/ also said in regard to I.A. Kryvelev's position that "religion on the whole orients people not in the direction of improvement of social customs in the interest of workers and the exploited majority... but to the conservation of the existing situation in the hope of changing it for the better as the result of the intervention of forces from the beyond." The problem does not lie in religion itself, M. /Miri/ asserted, but in the manner it is used. The fact that political leaders, while professing religious piety, frequently commit acts that are criminal from the point of view of human morality does not characterize religion but the pressure that contemporary civilization exerts upon it. This observation, in his opinion, is entirely applicable to relations between religion and politics. R. /Naudu/ did not agree with M. /Miri/ on this point. Many examples are known where religious dogmas have guided politicians," she said.

The positions of the Indian and Soviet scholars also differed in an evaluation of the historical role of religion and atheism. While the Soviet

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delegates unconditionally acknowledged the process of liberation of society from religion to be progressive, the Indian participants enunciated other views. For example, religion was described in the report by R. Naydu/ as an immanent property of consciousness: "For the human condition religiousness is a kind of functional imperative." Defining the nature of the religious experience as a "feeling of absolute dependence," she emphasized: "The feeling of absolute dependence is not simply a psychic reaction of the individual in regard to the Absolute, it is rooted in the experimental matrix of relative dependences and implied relations..." In her talk she recognized religion as being useful and helpful to man's orientation in the world. This point of view was also supported by /Sh.Ch. Dube/, who said that "the constructive, positive role of religion in society should not be underestimated." He perceived this positive role in the affirmation of the moral norms of religion. In his opinion, under the contemporary achievements of science and technology "society may arrive at practical atheism," but "atheism can have very negative aspects if society does not possess what you call socialist morality." For this reason dissemination of atheism is feasible only in the case where material conditions are provided for the functioning of the principles of the new morality. Pritam Singh, on commenting on P.K. Kurochkin's report, stated that "spiritual, moral and emotional qualities which, in the words of the speaker, are characteristic of atheism, are almost the same as those affirmed by many religions." Religion has been tested over the course of thousands of years, and its properties are known. "But atheism as a state cult has yet to pass the test of time." Thus, Pritam Singh showed a lack of understanding of the nature of atheism, which is an inseparable part of the materialist viewpoint.

In the course of the discussion, a different understanding of the term "secularization" by the Soviet and Indian scholars came to light. The Soviet scholars defined secularization as the process of liberation of social life from the influence of religion, acting on a general law of development of contemporary humanity as a whole. Such a definition in particular was given in the introductory remarks of Vice President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Academician M.K. Nurmukhamedov at the opening of the symposium.<sup>1</sup> In the Indian scholars' reports and statements, the terms "secularization" and "secularism" had a different meaning. Thus, in the opinion of R. Naydu, "secular philosophy neither denies the relevancy of religious prescriptions (based on invisible deities and the afterlife) for human behavior nor acknowledges it. Clearly, this is because there is no logical opposition between religion and secularism--rather they are based on mutually exclusive philosophical systems"; she repeated this thesis of her report in the course of discussion. "I mean by secularization the separation of religion and state," she explained. R. /Kumar/ defined the term secularization as the liberation of the state from religion, the destruction of any connection between religion and politics with a constitutional guarantee of religious freedom. The same views were voiced by M. /Miri/ and S.T. Lokhandvalla.

1. For the text of the introductory remarks of M.K. Nurmukhamedov see: OSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE, No 2, 1979, pp 29-32.

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Such a narrow and, to a certain degree, formal comprehension of the phenomenon of secularization reduced to a complete reciprocal independence of state and religion hindered individual Indian participants of the symposium from seeing the inner impelling factors to the weakening of the influence of religion. For example, in the report by R. Naydu/, the departure of the population from Moslem prescriptions of fast observance was explained solely by the incompatibility of this custom with work discipline under conditions of modern production, which in her opinion involves the desire of the state to forbid the fast. Changes in the viewpoints of believers due to the changing conditions of life were not taken into account by R. /Naydu/.

In their talks, the Soviet scholars explained the basic positions of Marxist control of religion and acquainted their Indian colleagues with facts that cast light on the present state of religious organizations in the USSR and on the departure of the country's population from religion.

Taking part in the discussion, I.A. Kryvelev substantiated the point of view that a governing characteristic of religion was belief in the reality of the supernatural. This characteristic, he said, is possessed both by Hinduism and Buddhism; in particular, even early Buddhism shared the belief in supernatural forces. I.A. Kryvelev criticized the position of M. /Miri/, showing that a scientifically substantiated theory of the origin of religion is being successfully developed by religious historians.

Yu.I. Semenov remarked that the reports of the Indian delegates only confirm the definition of religion adopted by the Soviet scholars. R. /Naydu/, for example, saw the essence of religion as existing in the feeling of absolute dependence, but this is a dependence on supernatural forces.

The report of /Sh.Ch. Dube/, Yu.I. Semenov said, also acknowledges that Hinduism is also characterized by belief in the supernatural and ritual intercourse with supernatural beings; furthermore, punishment is expected from the gods and goddesses for violation of the prescriptions of Hinduism. It is something else again that religion is not restricted to belief in the supernatural; there exists, in particular, religious morality (as part of a system of rules of behavior prescribed by this or that religion). Morality, however, has earthly roots, religion only illumines, sanctions it.

S.A. Tokarev showed the methodological inconsistency of the position of a number of Indian scholars, according to which the personal attitude toward supernatural forces is separated from the social content of religion. The social role of religion is displayed in its integrating and segregating functions, which were examined in his report.

In their talks, the Soviet delegates also substantiated the legitimacy of the use of the term "secularization" in the sense used in Soviet science. Academician M.K. Nurmukhamedov emphasized that the tendency toward the freeing of social life from the influence of religion, which secured a solid social basis during the period of formation of bourgeois attitudes, has been transformed in the contemporary epoch into a mighty process obtaining broad scope in many countries.

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V.F. Milovidov said that secularization in our country is taken to mean not only complete liberation from the influence of religion of all spheres of social and personal life but also the assertion in our society of the scientific-materialist viewpoint and of communist ideals. Yu.I. Semenov directed attention to the fact that the process of secularization possesses different forms in different countries and grows through different stages. The difference between the Soviet and Indian definitions of secularization is reflected in the specific character of the process in India and in the USSR. The Indian colleagues underscored the importance of separation of state from religion as a guarantee of equality of all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation. It is clear that for India this is a pertinent process, but in the USSR religion has long been separated from the state and a process is proceeding of the complete liberation of the individual from religion due to the fact that socialism is undermining the roots of religion. At the present time, the great majority of the population in the USSR consists of atheists. G.M. Kerimov, speaking on S.T. Lokhandvalla's report, expressed disagreement with the opinion of the author of the report that occasional signs of the process of secularization were observed even in the first centuries of the existence of the Arabian caliphate. A.F. Akhadov agreed with the thought stated in S.T. Lokhandvalla's report to the effect that the process of secularization is a many-sided phenomenon relating to all spheres of social life. He described the form of departure from religion by the adherents of Shia in Azerbaijan.

The remarks of the Soviet participants also cast light on different aspects of the present position of religion in the USSR. The need for explaining many facts stemmed from the questions and comments of the Indian delegates that attested to the fact that some of their ideas on the life of peoples in the USSR were based on unconscionable information of foreign "sovietologists." A.F. Okulov described the opportunities possessed by religious organizations in our country for the functioning of a cult. Like the other Soviet delegates, he emphasized that a researcher should not depend on the concoctions of "sovietologists," if he has a desire to make an adequate study of Soviet life. A.V. Nurullayev dwelt on the questions of guarantees of freedom of conscience incorporated in the new USSR Constitution and also explained the meaning of the new position of the Constitution--a prohibition to foment enmity and hatred in connection with religious beliefs. He analyzed the reasons for the transition of the contemporary Moslem clergy in the USSR from positions of condemnation of socialism to the adoption of its ideals.

The report by R. /Naydu/ evoked sharp criticism from the Soviet participants as it contained a number of positions expressing a lack of understanding of the nature of processes occurring in our country. M. Khamidzhanova pointed out the fallacy of the assertion by R. /Naydu/ that in the USSR observance of fasting by Moslems is considered to be sabotage and described the true state of affairs. She came out decisively against a statement by R. /Naydu/ that a process of russification is taking place in the national republics. M. Khamidzhanova directed the attention of the Indian participants to the facts attesting to the growth of the national cultures and languages of the people's of the Soviet Union. Ya.V. Minkyavichyus also convincingly showed in

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his comments that it is radically wrong to speak of russification of non-Russian peoples in the USSR; the process of mastering the Russian language by representatives of other peoples is progressive, as it contributes to the acquisition of world cultural values by the non-Russian nationalities. In connection with this question, he also examined the role of the English language in India.

R. /Naydu/ admitted that her ideas on the life of Moslems in the USSR were based primarily on American literature. She explained that the term "russification" used in the report as an analog to another term employed by her-- "hinduization" by which is meant the spread in India of culture connected with Hinduism and the Hindi language. Yu.I. Semenov objected that in this sense employment of the term "russification" is inadmissible as the analog for "hinduization" would be "orthodoxization," and such an analog in the context of the report would be inappropriate as orthodoxy in our country is not being disseminated but, on the contrary, is undergoing a decline and the number of its followers is being reduced.

In their remarks the Soviet delegates presented additional information on the subject matter of the reports. Thus V.N. Basilov, G.M. Kerimov, S.M. Mirkhasilov, L.A. Tul'tseva and E.G. Filimonov in replies to the question of the Indian scholars quoted various facts characterizing the evolutionary stages of different faiths past and in the present. N.P. Lobacheva illumined the goals of the mass movement for creation of a new nonreligious ritual. Moreover, she dwelt on the question of criteria that made it possible to consider a new rite as corresponding to the contemporary needs of society.

In the course of the discussion, major interest was shown by the participants in the comments of colleagues of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences. R.A. Ubaydullayeva came out with commentaries on S.M. Mirkhasilov's report, having for its task disclosure of the social-economic causes of the process of departure of women from religion. Involvement of women in public socialist production, she said, constituted an inseparable part of the work of the Soviet state and society in overcoming the general backwardness of Central Asia. Economic emancipation of women has been combined with granting to them of equal opportunities with men in obtaining an education and vocational training, in promotion at work and in social-political and cultural activities.

Kh. Ismailov presented facts supplementing materials contained in V.N. Basilov's and K.K. Kubakov's report on the dying out of vestiges of pre-Moslem beliefs in Islam. He described in this connection the unique corporation of the Calendar dervishes, which no longer exists.

O.P. Umurzakova developed a number of theses formulated in N.P. Lobacheva's report, emphasizing that new customs and traditions come into existence on the basis of creatively reworked traditional elements of culture possessing a national coloring and new Soviet features of the socialist way of life reflecting international developmental tendencies. She cited certain new

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data characterizing both present-day rituals of the inhabitants of Uzbekistan and retaining positive traditions from the past--respect for labor, for parents and elders and mutual aid.

Interesting factual material was to be found in the remarks of the Indian scholars in supplementing their reports. /Sh.Ch. Dube/ examined in particular features of the process of secularization in India. Secularism, he said, quite easily found a place in the system of Hinduism, coexisting with traditional manifestations of religion, inasmuch as in Hinduism "the chief attention has always been paid to conscious cultivation of different modes of life and behavior." In India organizations exist which have for their aim the preservation of Hinduism, but they allow a certain modernization of it. /Sh.Ch. Dube/ also noted that in the last twenty years a number of new cults have come into existence in India. For example, there appeared the sect of "God-Men," which has managed to become popular in the country (for example, Said Baba, who allegedly has the ability to create watches and French perfumes "out of nothing"). "Not one of you would be able to say," /Sh.Ch. Dube/ said, "that you have been a teacher of God. But for several months I was the teacher of a person who subsequently was shown to be God." /Sh.Ch. Dube/ had in mind one of the "God-Men" who has been acknowledged in many capitalist countries of the world.

R. /Kumar/ voiced the conviction that in certain respects secularization does not present such a serious problem for India as for countries where Christianity or Islam are prevalent. As a consequence of its amorphous character. Hinduism "is able to find a way for a more stable coexistence with a society in which social and economic democracy assumes the ascendancy."

Pritam Singh dwelt on the specific character of modernization of Sikhism in India. In Sikhism, he pointed out, much attention is attached to the external signs of adherence to a religion. A man with a shaved beard is considered by Sikhs to be a renegade who has gone over to Hinduism. And although some persons without beards in a number of cases more zealously observe the precepts of Sikhism than persons who continue to wear a beard, public opinion does not consider them to be Sikhs. Nonetheless, like other religions, Sikhism has been subjected to modernization, but this impinges on other spheres.

M. /Miri/ spoke of Christianization of the population in the northeastern part of India and noted that this process was accompanied by material incentives for new converts. The Christian clergy urged the population to renounce their former religious traditions, which, in M. /Miri/'s opinion, led to the spiritual impoverishment of the people.

The symposium held in Tashkent is of major importance for the development of scientific ties between the USSR and India as it contributed to better mutual understanding of both parties. This was pointed out in his concluding remarks by the delegations' leaders. /Sh.Ch. Dube/ said that some of the Indian delegates obtained their first acquaintance through the symposium with the ideas

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and occurrences characteristic of an entirely different way of life for them. The talks of the Soviet participants, he added, illumined for the Indian scholars "many fields, which up to then had been covered with darkness, contributing to a tremendous degree to our understanding of present-day Soviet society."

Vice President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences M.K. Nurmukhamedov, in closing the symposium, emphasized that mutual elucidation of scientific views and principles was a useful thing, helping to strengthen friendly contacts between two large countries of the Eurasian continent--the USSR and India. The symposium, he said, serves as a convincing argument directed against the dissemination in India of a thesis of bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the position of religion in the Soviet Union is allegedly enshrouded as a secret because in the field of religious belief the rights of an individual are allegedly interfered with. In the reports and talks of the Soviet scholars the groundlessness of such assertions was proved, and the conclusion was substantiated by a large body of factual material that the departure of the population of our country from religion is an objective process resulting from the tremendous changes that have taken place in the life of the peoples of the USSR during the years of the Soviet power and have been caused by radical changes in people's world view.

The success of the symposium was to a large degree abetted by a saturated program of various measures for the participants of the symposium. In Tashkent they were acquainted with the sights of the city; they visited museums and theaters and went to Tashkent State University and a school where Hindi is taught and also the Theological Administration of Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. On completion of the symposium's work program, the participants visited Bukhara and Samarkand, following which the Indian delegation went to Moscow. The Indian scholars completed their trip at Zagorsk where they looked over the museum and also a theological seminary and academy, where they held talks with the leadership of these institutions.

The work of the symposium received publicity through mass information media (press, radio, television).

The reports discussed at the symposium are to be published in the USSR and India.

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INTERNATIONAL

REVIEW OF BOOK ON MILITARY DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI, SERIYA 1, PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 4, 1979 pp 55-58

[A. N. Pavlovskaya review of work on military detente\*]

[Text] The book consists of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion.

In Chapter 1--"The Struggle of the Socialist Countries for Military Detente in Central Europe in the Postwar Period (1946-1970)"--the author shows the positive changes in the structure of international relations in connection with the formation of the world socialist system.

He notes the Soviet Union's historical priority in the initiative concerning a reduction in armed forces and armaments in postwar Europe. The Soviet Union's struggle for a peaceful settlement of the German problem was also a part of the question of a general reduction in armed forces. A concrete expression of Soviet foreign policy in Central Europe was the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces by 1.2 million men in 1956 and by 1.2 million men in 1960. The consultations in Vienna from 31 January through 28 June 1973 with the participation of the delegations of 19 states (the chapter entitled "On the Eve of the Vienna Talks") focused sharply on the question of the status of the participants. States whose troops, located in Central Europe, were an immediate object of a reduction (Belgium, Great Britain, the GDR, Canada, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, the USSR, the United States, the FRG and Czechoslovakia) were treated as direct participants. The area of the reduction, which included the territory of Belgium, the GDR, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, the FRG and Czechoslovakia (p 46), was also specified. Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Romania and Turkey, which were represented in Vienna, but which were not participants in the reduction, obtained special status: they could participate in the discussion of the questions, but not in the formulation of the decisions.

\*79.04.012. V. Basmanov, "Za voyennuyu razryadku v tsentral'noy yevrope" [For Military Detente in Central Europe], Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1978, pp 136.



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The object of the talks--"a mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments and measures connected therewith in Central Europe"--was also defined at these consultations.

The sides came to an understanding on the "equivalence of commitments" and the need for the observance by all its participants of the "principle of reciprocity." The "principle of balance," which signified in the NATO countries' interpretation, "asymmetrical reductions to its own advantage," was excluded from the definition of the object of the talks. However, the Western countries' intentions of obtaining one-sided advantages for themselves reemerged subsequently in the course of the negotiations.

The Western countries advocated that the withdrawal of armed forces from the area of the reduction should not be detrimental to the security of the direct-participant countries and the special-status countries. The socialist countries believed that a solution of the question should strengthen stability and security on the continent as a whole, being detrimental to the security of no European state.

The socialist states' draft agreement and the Western outline of reductions are compared in Chapter 3--"At the Negotiating Table." The draft of agreements of the socialist countries carefully drew up the time and the extent of the reductions. It provided for a 15-percent reduction over 3 years in Central Europe of both foreign and national armed forces, that is, ground forces and air forces together with their armaments and combat materiel, including nuclear weapons. The NATO countries agreed only to the cutback in the number of ground forces, rejecting a reduction in air force personnel and also in armaments and combat materiel.

In October 1974 the socialist states proposed an initial reduction of the armed forces of 20,000 men from each side. In March 1975 the socialist states put forward a proposal, which was in the nature of a compromise, in accordance with which the Soviet Union and the United States would make reduction and only after this would the other direct participants in the negotiations follow suit.

The Western proposal of 16 December 1975 on a reduction of part of the American nuclear facilities recognized the need for a reduction in nuclear facilities, but was of a one-time-only nature and did not signify agreement in principle to a reduction in air forces, armaments and combat materiel.

The next initiative on the part of the socialist countries was the proposal of 19 February 1976 for a reduction in two stages--first in the armed forces of the USSR and the United States and then (in 1977-1978) of the other states.

Chapter 4--"Problems of the Vienna Negotiations"--examines the interconnection of the correlation of forces in the area of the reduction with the all-European and world situations.

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The correlation of forces in Central Europe makes it possible to determine the extent of the reduction and its results. But it is difficult to achieve mutual understanding on this question insofar as the balance of forces even in a single limited area is composed of many factors which are difficult to compute. Certain disparities and differences in the structure of individual services of the armed forces and armaments of the states have evolved since the war. But, on the whole, the existing correlation of the forces of both sides, including those in the given area, are characterized by balance. For this reason the Soviet Union insists that the result of the negotiations must not be a change in the present correlation of forces in the area of the reductions.

The geographical fact of the remoteness from Central Europe of the United States and the proximity thereto of the Soviet Union is interpreted by representatives of the NATO countries as an advantage to the Soviet Union. The author emphasizes that it is only the military-strategic aspect of this problem and not the purely geographical aspect which is of significance for the Vienna negotiations.

There follows an analysis of factors of a subjective nature applying the brakes to the progress of the talks in Vienna: the activity of the most militant forces of imperialism, military and military-industrial circles and anti-Soviet politicians. The author discloses the mechanism of the fabrication of data on the alleged overwhelming military superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries over the NATO countries (false methods of estimating the numerical strength of the forces of the socialist countries which proceed from the establishment schedule, which, as is known, is not up to full strength in peacetime in any state, and also various manipulations concerning the areas of the estimation). The West's policy of manifest exaggeration of the socialist countries' defense efforts serves this same purpose.

A principal obstacle on the path of the negotiations is the arms race being pursued by the NATO countries. "The arms race policy has its own development logic. It inevitably leads to a galvanization in these countries of the forces opposed to detente" (p 98).

The question of the "object of the reduction" occupied a particular place at the negotiations. As a result of many years of negotiations the conclusion was drawn that the path toward the achievement of effective military detente in Central Europe evidently lies in all components of the armed forces (with consideration of the agreed exception of naval forces), including nuclear weapons, being subject to reduction. The object of a reduction also includes armaments and combat materiel, although the Western states asserted at the negotiations that military strength is determined mainly by the numerical strength of the personnel of the armed forces, primarily the ground forces. The author emphasizes that calculating combat effectiveness by the number of bayonets is today a profound anachronism. Insofar as the process of modernization of the armies in different countries is at different levels, man as the criterion of combat effectiveness is of varying

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meaningfulness. There should be a reduction in the troops with their armaments from both sides on an equal basis. Otherwise the process of reduction could become a formality or its opposite even, stimulating an improvement in military equipment and an increase in the troops' combat strength and, consequently, not a lessening but a growth of tension.

The question arose in the course of the negotiations of which forces should be treated as ground forces and which as air forces, this having been caused by the differences which had evolved in the organizational structure of the states' armed forces. The socialist countries proposed proceeding from the "functional criterion," in accordance with which identical or uniform forces should be treated as belonging to one and the same service of the armed forces. The NATO states put forward another principle--the "criterion of uniform." But it does not permit a precise definition of services of the armed forces insofar as analogous forces in different countries wear various uniforms. Difficulties of categorizing troops are also connected with differences in the systems of bringing to prescribed strength, reinforcing and classifying the personnel. Thus the practice exists in the NATO countries of calling into the army civilian personnel whose duties are analogous to the functions of servicemen in the Warsaw Pact armies. For this reason the employment of the criterion of uniform led to a reduction in the numerical strength of the Western states' armed forces.

The question of the method of the reductions also occupies an important place. The author reveals the advantages of the "equal-percentage method" of troop reduction by all states over the "asymmetrical" troop reduction which is being propagandized by the Western delegates and which benefits NATO.

Measures of effective supervision of observance of the agreements do not of themselves give rise to doubts, but their specific nature and connection with the main aims of the negotiations are important. Thus the so-called "measures to strengthen stability and trust" proposed by the NATO countries as an obligatory condition of a reduction of forces are essentially the latest attempt to obtain one-sided advantages for NATO.

In conclusion the book observes that the Vienna negotiations, which have now been underway for 5 years, have not yet brought closer a solution of the problem of a reduction of armed forces in Central Europe, which represents the pivot of military detente on the European continent. It is essential that its solution be approached with an understanding of the historic significance of the positive processes occurring in the world and not with obsolete yardsticks which fail to correspond to the present state of international relations.

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AUTHOR LAUDS MERIT OF IMPROVED TURKMEN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKEMNSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH  
NAUK in Russian No 2, 1979 signed to press 23 Apr 79 pp 52-57

[Article by O. Nazarov: "The Functional Interaction of Turkmen and Russian  
at the Current Stage"]

[Text] In recent years sociolinguistics has become a leading area of Soviet linguistics. Fundamental studies devoted to an elaboration of the theoretical principles of sociolinguistics and a determination of the range of problems with which this science must deal have appeared as the result of the scientific interpretation of experience accumulated in the course of linguistic building in our country. Linguistic practice in a multinational state, where the language of inter-nation communication interacts intensively with the national languages, provides a wealth of material for a comprehensive study of the questions of the mutual relations of language and society. An important place is occupied in the range of sociolinguistic problems by a study of the social functions performed in this region or the other by each of the interacting languages.

The question of the functional interaction of Russian and the national languages cannot be successfully studied in isolation from national-Russian bilingualism, which can be observed throughout the territory of the Soviet Union to a greater or lesser extent. Within the confines of our republic the most widespread type of bilingualism is Turkmen-Russian bilingualism (1, pp 42-48; 6, pp 185-191), which makes a certain imprint on the distribution of the social load between the literary languages functioning in Turkmenia at the present time.

The functional interaction of Turkmen and Russian occurs in all spheres of their application (2, pp 354-370). This is entirely natural for the very practice of the parallel use of two (or several) languages in a certain region is a result of the fact that each language individually is incapable of coping with all the functions of communications in this collective. In other words, under the conditions of bilingualism the interacting languages are differentiated according to the spheres of service or society, and in this plane they complement one another.

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An integral idea of the functional interaction of Turkmen and Russian at the current stage is given by an examination of their application in the system of public education (8, pp 64-69). Whereas prior to the revolution Turkmen was virtually unused in this function and the sphere of the application of Russian was essentially confined to its use in the role of the language of tuition in small high schools, preparatory schools, specialist schools and regular schools, as a result of the implementation of Lenin's national policy schools began to open as early as 1918 with instruction in Turkmen, and there was a simultaneous expansion of the network of Russian schools and also schools where instruction was in the native tongue of other nationalities living in Turkmenia--Uzbeks and Kazakhs. Some 1,171 Turkmen, 101 Russian, 70 Uzbek, 39 Kazakh and 100 mixed schools were functioning in the republic in the 1976-1977 academic year.\* In the national schools Russian is taught as particular subject from the second semester of the first grade through the 10th, and Turkmen, in turn, is included in the programs of the republic's Russian schools.

In the VUZ's and secondary specialized academic institutions the function of language of instruction is distributed between the interacting languages somewhat distinctively. The humanities are usually taught in the Turkmen lecture hall in the students' native tongue, but natural-technical subjects are taught in Turkmen and Russian, with a considerable preponderance of Russian. This circumstance is connected with the shortage of virtual absence in a number of natural-technical specialties of the necessary textbooks in the students' native language and the poor development of the corresponding scientific terminology in Turkmen.

As can be seen, the question of the distribution of functions between the interacting languages in the system of public education is closely interwoven with the publication of instructional literature in the corresponding languages. The general educational schools which have Turkmen as the language of instruction have now been fully supplied with study programs and original textbooks and those translated into the students' native language in all subjects in the high schools' curricula. An average of 87 textbooks for the republic's Turkmen schools in mass editions are currently issued annually. Thus textbooks with a print of approximately 3 million copies (5, pp 15-17) were published in 1973 alone. Individual physics, history and philosophy textbooks are published in Turkmen for the specialized schools, tekhnikum's and VUZ's.

The creation of VUZ textbooks in the native language is directly connected with the functioning of Turkmen and Russian in the role of the language of science. Whereas specialists in the humanities employ both languages, with a certain predominance of Russian, in the sphere of the natural sciences the results of research are set forth in Russian, as a rule. This is partially caused by the fact that the entire national teaching body in these branches of science is actively bilingual. It could not be otherwise since

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\*From material of the current archives of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Education.

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"knowledge of Russian under the conditions of the republic, which has a small population and very limited possibilities for the translation and publication in Turkmen of numerous works on various branches of science and technology and literature and art, becomes an insistent, objective necessity" (1, p45). Even were it to be allowed that the republic disposed of such possibilities, it would be necessary to take account of another fact of considerable importance: before the results of scientific research would have been made known to the monolingual specialist following translation and publication in his native language a certain period of time would have elapsed in which this new information would have lost some of its topicality. From this viewpoint the predominant use in the republic of Russian as the language of the natural sciences seems correct and corresponds to the interests of scientific-technical progress.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the use of interacting languages in the sphere of VUZ tuition is at present the area of their functioning which is in need of a conscious impact on the part of society geared to a further expansion of the functions of Turkmen. The time has come, in our view, to raise in all seriousness the question of providing the VUZ's with the most essential textbooks in the students' native language. The republic now has sufficient national scientific personnel capable of creating VUZ textbooks--translated or original. It is quite obvious that this task is extraordinarily complex and that its accomplishment will take decades. For this reason the creation of textbooks could be organized in stages, and a start should be made with the preparation of textbooks in those subjects whose study is envisaged in the first and second years, when a poor knowledge of Russian by Turkmen students creates considerable difficulties in the assimilation of the study material at the proper scientific-theoretical level. The creation of textbooks in the students' native language should be a principal direction of the scientific-pedagogical activity of the corresponding departments of the VUZ's and other scientific establishments. All this must be accompanied by a further intensification of work on instructing Turkmen students in Russian for the purpose of perfecting linguistic skills and preparing them for independent use of specialized literature in Russian.

The preparation of textbooks of VUZ's is also attended by difficulties of a purely linguistic order, the undeveloped state of specialized terminology falling, as noted, in this category. The principal task of the present day in this aspect is the development of work on the speediest elimination of the gap between the ever increasing social loads and the comparatively low level of scientific terminology of Turkmen. For this it is primarily essential to raise terminological work in the republic to a higher level and reveal the latent potential of the development of the stylistic and syntactical systems of the native language. However, this does not mean that the preparation of VUZ textbooks in the students' native language may be deferred until the time of the complete accomplishment of the above-mentioned tasks. The very process of the creation of new terms, like the improvement of those which are already functioning in Turkmen and which are reflected in bilingual terminological dictionaries, acquires great intensiveness precisely in connection with activity on the creation of textbooks.

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Upon an examination of the distribution of functions between Turkmen and Russian in the system of VUZ tuition nor is it out of place to dwell on individual questions of an organizational nature whose optimum solution does not present particular difficulty.

The republic has a practice according to which the list of entrance examinations to certain of the republic's VUZ's incorporates a written examination in Russian. If it is considered that the teaching of Russian in Turkmen schools, particularly the rural schools, is not yet organized everywhere at the proper level and that the republic's indigenous population lives predominantly in rural localities, it is not difficult to understand that this procedure of VUZ admittance could be reflected in the quality of the student body. It cannot be ruled out that some students gifted in the subjects in which they are specializing find themselves kept out of the VUZ's because of poor language training. This contingent is often composed of rural school graduates, while the need for highly skilled personnel in certain professions is felt more acutely in rural localities than in the city. In order to extricate ourselves from this situation it would be advisable to afford applicants applying for nonphilological faculties of VUZ's the possibility of choosing one of two languages (Turkmen or Russian) and of taking the written examination therein. Naturally, together with this it is essential to set up work on further improving the teaching of Russian in the Turkmen lecture hall, particularly in the rural schools.

The specific features of a relatively "monolingual" republic with a predominantly rural population where bilingualism extends to only 7.4 percent of Turkmen (3, p 309) also put on the agenda the question of the introduction of the teaching of Turkmen in the Russian groups in the VUZ's for the purpose of teaching young specialists elementary skills in spoken Turkmen, particularly those whose labor activity will be connected with the local rural population.

Turkmen and Russian intensively interact in the function of language of the press. It is important to note that the publication of literature of diverse content in Turkmen in the republic has in all years since the revolution constantly surpassed the publication of books in Russian both in copies printed and in number of printed sheets. Thus 506 titles of books and brochures with a total print of 4,518,000 copies, including 212 titles in Turkmen in a print of 3,855,000 copies and 294 titles in Russian with 663,000 copies in print were published in Turkmenia in 1976 alone. A similar picture can also be seen in the periodicals sphere. In the same year 27 newspapers with an annual circulation of 170.5 million, of which 14 newspapers were in Turkmen, were published in the republic. Some 26 titles of journals and continuing publications with an annual circulation of 11,435,000 copies, of which 11,133,000 are in Turkmen (4, p 181), are currently published in the republic.

The functional interaction of Turkmen and Russian also occurs in such spheres of social life as artistic literature, the stage and movie theater, radio

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television and business correspondence. However, the main indicator of the nature of the distribution of functions between two interacting languages in a society is their application in the role of vehicle for everyday communication.

The use of languages in this function is differentiated depending on the territory and social affiliation of people and also on the specific place of communication (in the family or at work). The rural Turkmen population employs its native language in almost all spheres of everyday life, this being explained by the comparative homogeneity of the rural population in national affiliation. Urban Turkmen turn alternately to both languages, the choice of which in a specific situation depends on various factors, primarily on the national composition of the audience. At gathering, meetings and other social undertakings Turkmen and Russian are employed in parallel. It must be noted that Russian is increasingly intensively becoming a part of the everyday life of Turkmen, particularly of the intelligentsia and the workers. According to data of the 1970 population census, of the 1,416,700 Turkmen living in the republic, 210,097 were fluent in Russian. In the years of Soviet power a new body of Turkmen, numbering 9,214 people, has grown up which regards Russian as its native language (3, p 306).

The achievement of complete harmonious national-Russian bilingualism, to which the representatives of all of our country's nationalities aspire, is possible when members of society have a correct idea of the dialectics of the mutual relationship of the native language and the language of inter-nation communication. Definite harm can be done to this by the linguistic one-sidedness of certain individuals studying one language to the detriment of the other. Turkmen voluntarily study the language of inter-nation communication since they are convinced that a knowledge of Russian brings them closer to the economic and cultural life of the whole country, strengthens international relations with other peoples, contributes to the mutual enrichment of the national cultures and opens extensive possibilities for the speediest familiarization with the achievements of the peoples of the USSR and the entire world in various spheres of production, science and culture.

At the same time it has to be mentioned that there is currently a small group of Turkmen in the republic which, knowing Russian to perfection, belittles a knowledge of its own national language. Such people not only evoke the pity of their nation's representatives but also "impoverish themselves and limit their outlook and their possibilities in cultural growth and active participation in the life of all nations and divorce themselves from the masses" (7, p 193). This assertion should not be understood as coercion or the imposition of a knowledge of the national language. Marxism-Leninism recognizes the absolute freedom of the individual in choice of language, advocates the all-around development of people in the socialist society and encourages to the utmost respect for the native language, struggling at the same time against both an exaggeration and underestimation of the communicative possibilities of whatever language--national or inter-nation.

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The path of the Turkmen people toward social, scientific-technical and cultural progress lies through a further extension of the functions of the native language in close interaction with the language of inter-nation communication and through the utmost development of Turkmen-Russian bilingualism. Although considerable successes have been scored in the dissemination of Russian in the republic in the years of Soviet power, the extent of Turkmen's knowledge thereof remains slight. According to information of the 1970 all-union population census, Turkmen, together with Uzbeks and Tadzhiks, proved the most "monolingual" of all the USSR nationalities: only 15.4 percent of Turkmen knew Russian. Such a low percentage is also explained to a certain extent by socio-historical reasons. At the same time it suggests that in the interests of the Turkmen people themselves it is necessary to comprehensively intensify work on the dissemination of Russian in the republic fully in accordance with the principles of Lenin's national policy.

In order to intervene more actively in the linguistic processes occurring in the republic and in order to consciously direct them into the necessary channel it is essential to make a thorough study of the current state of the distribution of functions between Turkmen and Russian among different social and age groups and to determine the nature of their employment in various situations--in the family, school, work, public places and so forth. Such a mass sociolinguistic population survey could be conducted by individual polling in accordance with a questionnaire compiled in advance and, if only for a start, on individual territories or at individual enterprises. The information obtained could serve as good material for the development of sociolinguistic research, which is designed to be of not only theoretical but also great practical significance in the purposeful regulation of linguistic processes in support of social progress.

Preliminary observations on the functional interaction of Turkmen and Russian at the current stage enable us to conclude that two trends can be distinctly traced in this sphere: first, Turkmen is constantly extending the boundaries of its application and acquiring increasingly new social functions; second, Turkmen-Russian bilingualism is becoming increasingly widespread, eliciting the intensive interaction of Turkmen and Russian in all spheres of social life. Turkmen linguistics lags appreciably behind the present-day standard of this process, and its scientific interpretation constitutes the republic's linguists' paramount task.

Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature imeni Makhtumkuli. Received 20 September 1978.

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